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ABSTRACT

Public elementary and secondary schools in Illinois that have remained stably racially mixed over time are identified in this study. The neighborhood characteristics, pupil assignment policies, instructional programs, and other circumstances that have contributed to that stability are also determined. Several alternative definitions of "stable racial mix" are given, and these definitions are then applied to enrollment statistics for every public school in Illinois. Illinois schools meeting stated criteria are then classified according to various enrollment and locational attributes. From this universe, forty schools are selected for a detailed field investigation and personal interviews. Conclusions are derived regarding those factors which appear to promote stable racial mix under a variety of community and neighborhood circumstances. The applicability of desegregation techniques and the lessons learned from their implementation in the forty case study schools to additional Illinois schools are also considered. Topics meriting further research are suggested. (Author/LM)

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SUMMARY REPORT

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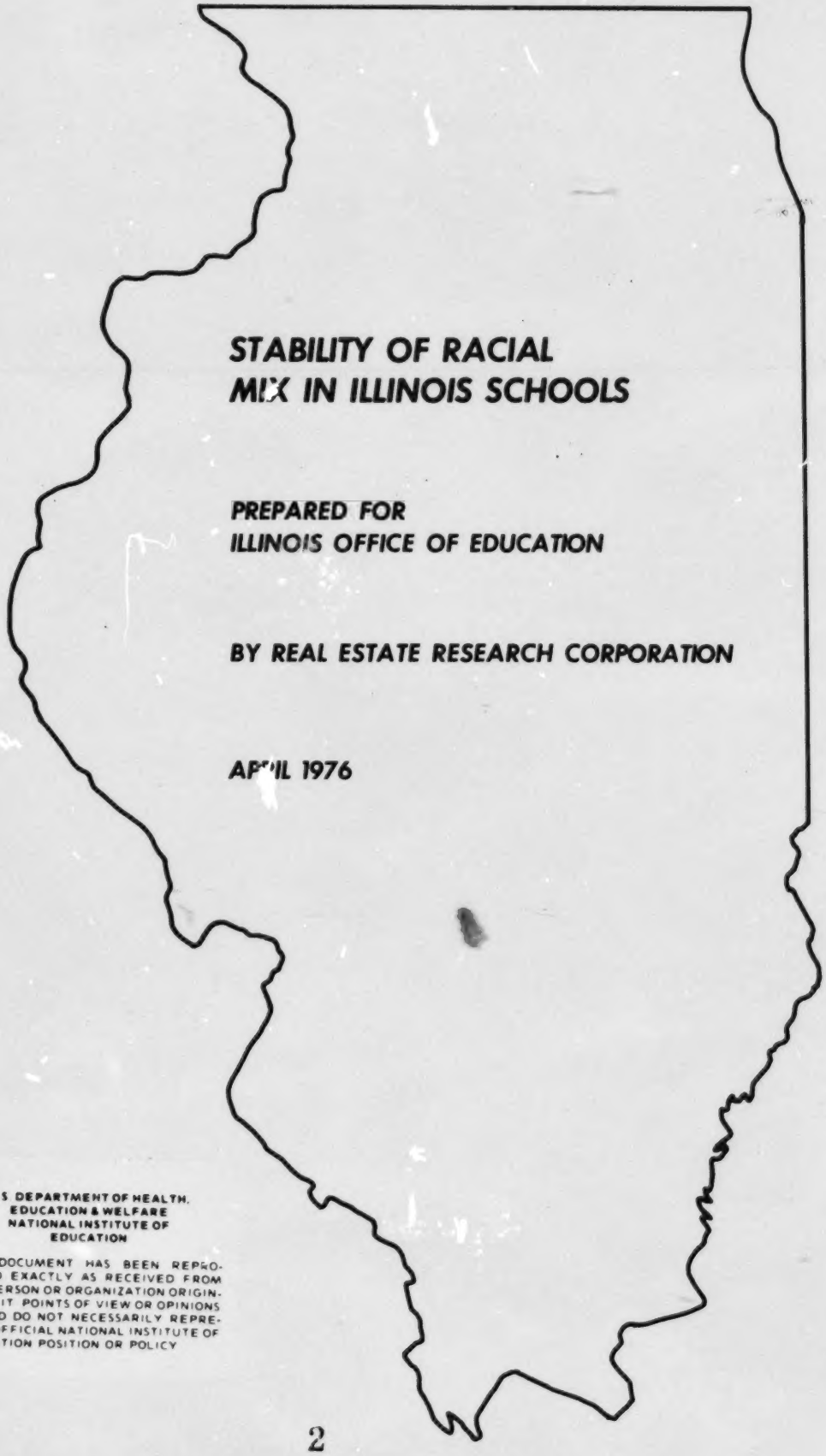

STABILITY OF RACIAL MIX IN ILLINOIS SCHOOLS

PREPARED FOR
ILLINOIS OFFICE OF EDUCATION

BY REAL ESTATE RESEARCH CORPORATION

APRIL 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

On November 13, 1975, the Illinois State Board of Education adopted a statement of goals representing the Board's philosophy. Basic to these goals is the State Board of Education's belief in a high quality, fully integrated educational system for all children in this state.

One of the earliest actions of the State Board was the adoption of revised regulations governing the elimination and prevention of racial segregation in public schools. The State Board, seeking to provide assistance to schools and communities as they attempt to establish truly integrated learning environments, commissioned Real Estate Research Corporation to review and analyze Illinois schools that evidence some degree of racial stability. It is hoped that the results of this study will prove helpful to citizens and school administrators alike in achieving this goal.

Funds for this study were provided by the U.S. Office of Education under Title IV, Section 403, Public Law 88-352.

ILLINOIS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
Joseph M. Cronin, Superintendent

I. NATURE OF THE ASSIGNMENT

This study involves an identification of public elementary and secondary schools in Illinois that have remained stably racially mixed over time, and a determination of those neighborhood characteristics, pupil assignment policies, instructional programs, and other circumstances that have contributed to that stability.

RERC's assignment included formulating alternative definitions of "stable racial mix" and applying those definitions to enrollment statistics for every public school in the State of Illinois. A final definition was then formulated, after consultation with Office of Education staff. Illinois schools meeting stated criteria were then classified according to various enrollment and locational attributes. From this universe, RERC selected a sample of 40 schools for detailed field investigation and personal interviews. From these examples, we have derived conclusions regarding those factors which appear to promote stable racial mix under a variety of community and neighborhood circumstances. The applicability of desegregation techniques and the lessons learned from their implementation in the 40 case study schools to additional Illinois schools are also considered. Topics meriting further research are suggested.

The conclusions presented here are based on analysis of Office of Education school enrollment data for 1971-72 through 1974-75 school years and field interviews conducted with district and school staff, school board members, students and realtors. These interviews were supplemented with field observation of the subject schools and their immediate environs, plus analysis of 1970 U.S. Census data covering socio-economic characteristics of the subject districts and the neighborhoods surrounding the case study schools. In addition RERC staff members reviewed recent literature in the field of school desegregation to supplement our earlier experience in this area.

The assignment was supervised and directed by Dr. Anthony Downs, Chairman of the Board of RERC, and Ms. Leanne Lachman, Vice President. Deborah L. Brett, Senior Analyst, served as project manager. Experienced RERC professionals conducted field interviews, analyzed Census data, and worked closely with the above cited individuals in formulating conclusions and preparing this report.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

- TO IDENTIFY RACIALLY MIXED ILLINOIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS THAT HAVE REMAINED RACIALLY MIXED OVER TIME
- TO DETERMINE REASONS FOR THEIR CONTINUING RACIAL MIX
  - -- NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS
  - -- PUPIL ASSIGNMENT POLICIES
  - -- CURRICULA
  - -- OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES
    (e.g., personalities, parent involvement, physical improvements)

SUMMARY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FINDINGS OF THIS STUDY

- A significant number and proportion of Illinois public schools have racially-mixed enrollments -- that is, from 10% to 90% minority-group students. Over 700 schools out of 4,600 (or more than 15%) were in this category in the 1974-1975 school year.

- About 86% of public schools with racially-mixed enrollments in 1971-1972 experienced some increase in their percentage of minority-group students from then through 1974-1975. However, the vast majority (90%) did not experience a rise of over 20 points in that percentage during these three years. We considered these to be schools with stable racially-mixed enrollments. Two-thirds of all schools with racially-mixed enrollments in 1971-1972 experienced either a decline in their minority-group percentage, or a rise of less than 10 percentage points; they were very stable.

- Based upon analysis of data from 71[illegible] racially-mixed schools, there appears to be no specific "tipping point" beyond which the percentage of minority-group students in public schools accelerates rapidly because whites withdraw.

- Interviews conducted in a sample of 40 schools with stable racially-mixed enrollments indicate that, in 95% of those schools, racial mixture did not cause any serious problems that significantly reduced the quality of education there. This shows that racially-mixed education can be carried out successfully under a wide variety of local conditions.

- Stable racially-mixed enrollments arose through largely accidental factors in 60% of the sample schools analyzed. The main such factor was location of the school in a racially-mixed neighborhood. In 25% of the sample schools, such enrollments resulted entirely from deliberate actions or policies, usually district-wide desegregation programs. In the remaining 15%, both these types of causes had helped generate stable racially-mixed enrollments.

- In 95% of the sample schools analyzed, no curriculum changes, specific teacher training courses, or other internal programs had been adopted deliberately to help either initiate or maintain stable racially-mixed enrollments. Thus, if true equality of educational opportunity regardless of race exists within these schools (and few persons interviewed denied that it did), it is largely either an accident or the result of "normal" educational procedures. It is not the result of policies adopted specifically for desegregation purposes.

- Experiences in implementing district-wide desegregation plans in 13 districts covered by our sample proved that positive and strongly-committed leadership in desegregation planning by the superintendent and the district school board was crucial in achieving successful results. Other key elements were community participation in formulating the desegregation plan, and a careful positive public relations program throughout the community both before and durings its implementation.

II. REPORT SUMMARY

This section summarizes the contents and major findings set forth in detail in our report on stable racially-mixed public schools in Illinois. For convenience, we have underlined the most significant points in this summary. We have also prepared a "super-summary" on two boxed pages preceding this page.

A. Purpose of the Study

This study was designed to identify those public elementary and secondary schools in Illinois that had stable racially-mixed enrollments, select a sample of such schools, and conduct a detailed analysis of the sample schools to determine what factors have contributed to their becoming and remaining stably racially-mixed.

B. Key Definitions

We have defined a number of terms used in this study more specifically than usual. It is important that these definitions be clearly understood from the outset:

- Racially-mixed schools are any attendance centers where both whites and minority-group pupils are represented to a significant extent. In general, we consider any school containing from 10% to 90% minority-group pupils as racially-mixed. However, in much of this study, we focus upon schools containing from 10% to 80% minority-group pupils in both 1971-1972 and 1974-1975.

- Minority-group pupils include black, Spanish surnamed, American Indian, and Asian-American, regardless of whether they are a numerical minority or majority in the particular schools concerned.

- Racially segregated schools are any attendance centers where either whites or minority-group pupils are not represented to a significant extent. In general, we consider any school containing less than 10% or more than 90% minority-group pupils as racially segregated.

- Desegregation is creation of a racially-mixed enrollment through deliberate public action or policy, rather than by accident. Two different types of desegregation are discussed in this study:

  --- Physical desegregation is creation of the simultaneous physical presence of white and minority-group students within a school through deliberate public action or policy.

--- Effective desegregation means elimination of inequalities of educational opportunities based upon race within a racially-mixed school through deliberate public action or policy without undue disruption of school or community life.

Thus, a school can be physically desegregated without being effectively desegregated. In most other writing on this general subject, the term desegregation is equivalent to physical desegregation as defined here.

- Accidentally racially-mixed schools are any attendance centers where racially-mixed enrollments have arisen not through deliberate public policies or actions aimed at desegregation, but through essentially accidental factors, mainly the existence of a racially-mixed residential population in the immediate vicinity of the school. These factors are "accidental" from the viewpoint of public policy, even though they may result from deliberate non-accidental choices made by private households.

- Integration is the absence within a racially-mixed school of any inequalities of educational opportunity based upon race. This condition can arise either through deliberate public action or policy (in which case it is equivalent to effective desegregation) or essentially by accident.

Possible relationships among schools fitting the above definitions are shown in an accompanying chart. It depicts the two basic types of racially-mixed schools (accidentally mixed and physically desegregated) and four sub-types of these two. Two of the four sub-types can be considered integrated schools, as indicated.

One other important definition used in the study is:

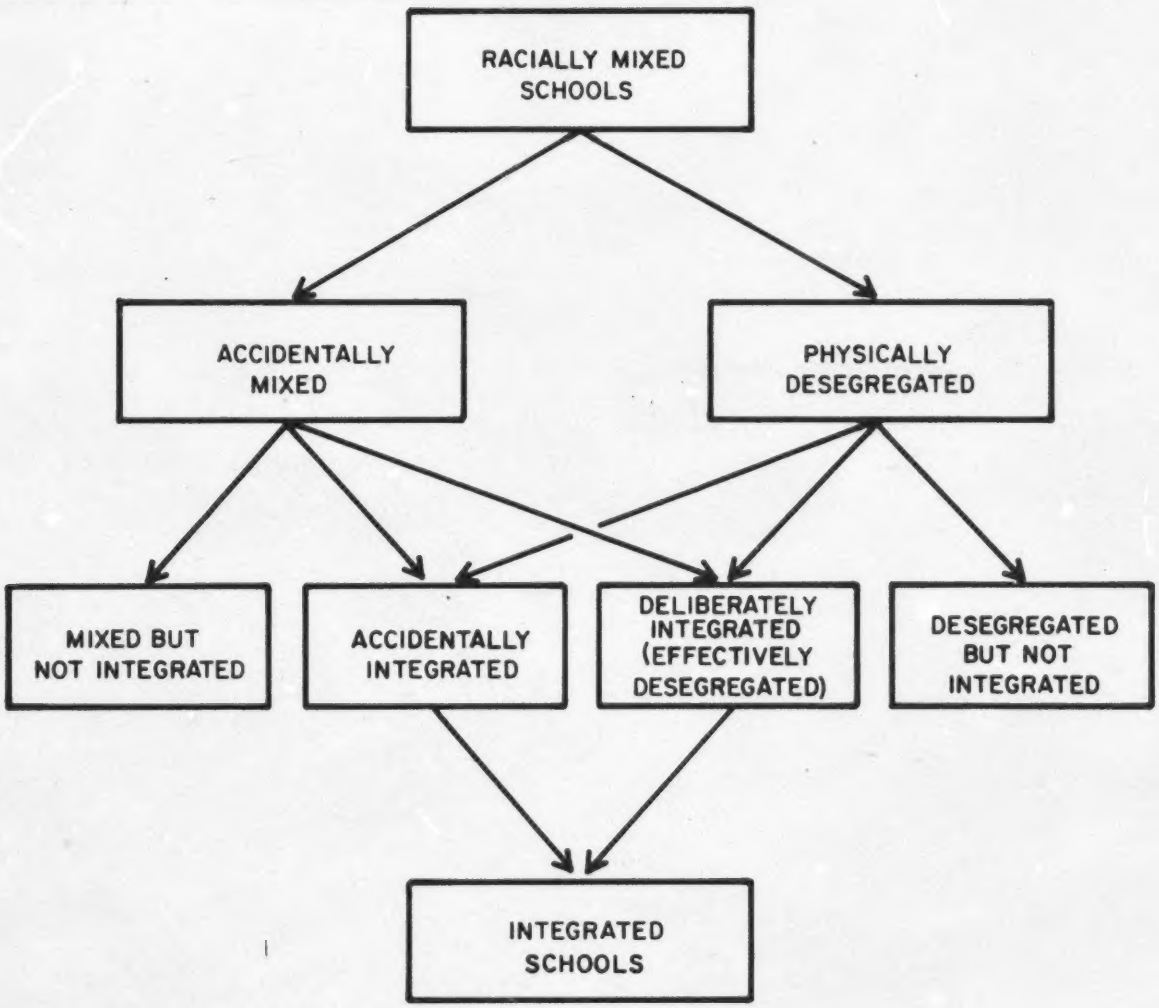
- Stable racially-mixed enrollment has the following characteristics:

  --- Minority-group students formed at least 10% and not more than 80% of total enrollment in both the 1971-1972 and 1974-1975 school years.

  --- The proportion of minority-group students in the school's total enrollment did not rise by more than 20 percentage points from the 1971-1972 school year to the 1974-1975 school year (or no more than 6.7 percentage points per year). For example, an increase in minority-group students from 10% in 1971-1972 to 28% in 1974-1975 would count as a rise of 18 percentage

Figure 1

TYPES OF RACIALLY MIXED SCHOOLS



points -- and therefore qualify as stable -- even though the fraction of such students almost tripled in that period.

This particular approach to stability of racial mixture admittedly uses a rather short time-span (three years). However, that was necessary because we did not have accurate and complete data on racial composition of enrollments for any longer time period.

It should be emphasized that the definition of racially-segregated enrollments used in this study differs markedly from that used in Illinois Office of Education policies concerning desegregation. The latter definition regards segregation as a relative condition that exists when the minority-group percentage in the enrollment of a particular school differs by more than 15% from that prevalent in the school's district as a whole. But minority-group percentages vary widely among Illinois school districts. Therefore, according to that approach, a school with, say, 35% minority-group enrollment would be considered segregated in some districts and racially-mixed in others. To facilitate comparisons among schools in different districts throughout the state, we decided to adopt the absolute definitions set forth above, which do not vary from one district to another.

C. Findings Concerning the Extent of Racially-Mixed Public Schools in Illinois

1. Of the approximately 4,600 public elementary and secondary schools in Illinois, 705 (about 15.3%) had racially-mixed enrollments in the 1974-1975 school year (defining racially-mixed enrollments as those containing 10% to 90% minority-group pupils).

2. From this group, we eliminated from any detailed consideration in this study (a) special education facilities, (b) schools in single-school districts with less than 25% minority-group students in the entire district, (c) schools in multi-school districts with less than 5% minority-group students in the entire district, (d) schools that had a change of more than 20 percentage points in their minority-group enrollments from 1971-1972 to 1974-1975, (e) schools that contained from 80% to 90% minority-group pupils in 1974-1975 (because they probably would not remain "stable" in the near future), and (f) schools that contained fewer than 10% minority-group pupils in 1971 (because they did not have a long enough history of racial mixture to be considered "stable" throughout the study period). This process of elimination left a total of 430 non-special schools that contained stable racially-mixed enrollments as defined above. This set of schools constituted about 9.3% of all public elementary and secondary schools in Illinois. The specific criteria used to arrive at the schools in this set are shown on an accompanying chart.

SUMMARY

CRITERIA USED TO IDENTIFY 430 STABLY RACIALLY MIXED ILLINOIS SCHOOLS

- SCHOOL MUST HAVE HAD AT LEAST 10% MINORITY PUPILS, BUT NO MORE THAN 80%, IN BOTH 1971 AND 1974
- THE PERCENT MINORITY GROUP PUPILS AT THE SCHOOL COULD NOT CHANGE BY MORE THAN 20% OVER THE FOUR YEARS STUDIED
- SPECIAL EDUCATION FACILITIES ELIMINATED
- RURAL SINGLE SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH LESS THAN 25% MINORITIES ELIMINATED
- SCHOOLS IN DISTRICTS WITH UNDER 5% MINORITIES OVERALL ELIMINATED

3. It therefore appears that most Illinois public schools with racially-mixed enrollments as of 1974-1975 experienced relative stability of racial composition from 1971-1972 through 1974-1975. We will discuss this finding in more detail below in our analysis of the "tipping point theory."

4. Some of the specific characteristics of these 430 schools are as follows:

   a. Concerning the percentage of minority-group students in them:

Percentage of Minority-Group Students in 1974-1975	Number of Schools	Percentage of All 430 Schools
10% to 25%	149	34.6%
25% to 40%	150	34.9%
40% to 80%	131	30.5%

   b. Concerning the type of districts where these schools are located:

Location and Type of Districts	Number of Schools	Percentage of All 430 Schools
Central-city portion of metropolitan areas*	256	59.5%
Suburban portion of metropolitan areas	101	23.5%
Cities outside of metropolitan areas	53	12.3%
Rural areas	20	4.7%

* 97 of these schools were in the City of Chicago, and 159 in other central cities.

c. Concerning the composition of the minority-group students in these schools, blacks formed over 50% of all minority-group students in 285 of the 410 non-rural schools, or 69.5%. However, blacks were a majority of such students in only 17 of the 97 such schools in the City of Chicago (17.5%). There stability of racially-mixed enrollments seems to be more as associated with mixtures of Latino and white students. Outside of Chicago, blacks were a majority of all minority-group students in 85.6% of all qualifying non-rural schools.

D. Findings Concerning the Validity of the "Tipping Point Theory"

We conducted a special analysis of 743 Illinois public schools to test the widely-believed "tipping point theory." According to this theory, white students will continue to attend schools with relatively low percentages of minority-group students, but will rapidly withdraw once the minority-group percentage passes above some threshold level, or "tipping point." This level is variously thought to be somewhere from 30% to 50%. Our analysis led to the following conclusions:

1. There is no consistent and significant relationship between the initial percentage of minority-group students in a school (as of 1971-1972) and the subsequent rate of change in its minority-group enrollment (from then through 1974-1975). Hence, there does not seem to be any "tipping point" beyond which the withdrawal of white students clearly accelerates (and therefore the percentage of minority-group students rises rapidly).

2. The rate at which these schools experienced rising minority-group percentages during the study period is shown on the following page. The data in this table suggest the following conclusions:

   - The vast majority of all Illinois schools with racially-mixed enrollments as of 1971-1972 (90%) did not experience rapid increases in the percentage of minority-group students in their total enrollments in the study period. One out of seven actually experienced decreases in that percentage; whereas just over half experienced increases averaging less than 3.3 percentage points per year. Thus, just about two-thirds had either decreases or very moderate increases. About one-third experienced increases of more than 10 percentage points, but only one out of ten had increases of more than 20 percentage points.

CHANGES IN PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS FROM 1971-1972 TO 1974-1975 IN 743 ILLINOIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS WITH RACIALLY-MIXED ENROLLMENTS (10% TO 90% MINORITY-GROUP) IN 1971-1972

	Change in Percentage of Minority-Group Students from 1971-1972 to 1974-1975	Number of Schools Experiencing That Change	Percentage of All 743 Schools
Decrease	Decrease of 20 percentage points or more	5	0.7%
	Decrease of 10.1 to 20 percentage points	13	1.8%
	Decrease of 0.1 to 10.0 percentage points	88	11.8%
	Total - Decrease	106	14.3%
Moderate Increase	No change to increase of 9.9 percentage points	391	52.6%
	Increase of 10.0 to 19.9 percentage points	172	23.1%
	Total - Moderate Increase	563	75.7%
Rapid Increase	Increase of 20.0 to 29.9 percentage points	43	5.8%
	Increase of 30 to 39.9 percentage points	9	1.2%
	Increase of 40 or more percentage points	22	3.0%
	Total - Rapid Increase	74	10.0%

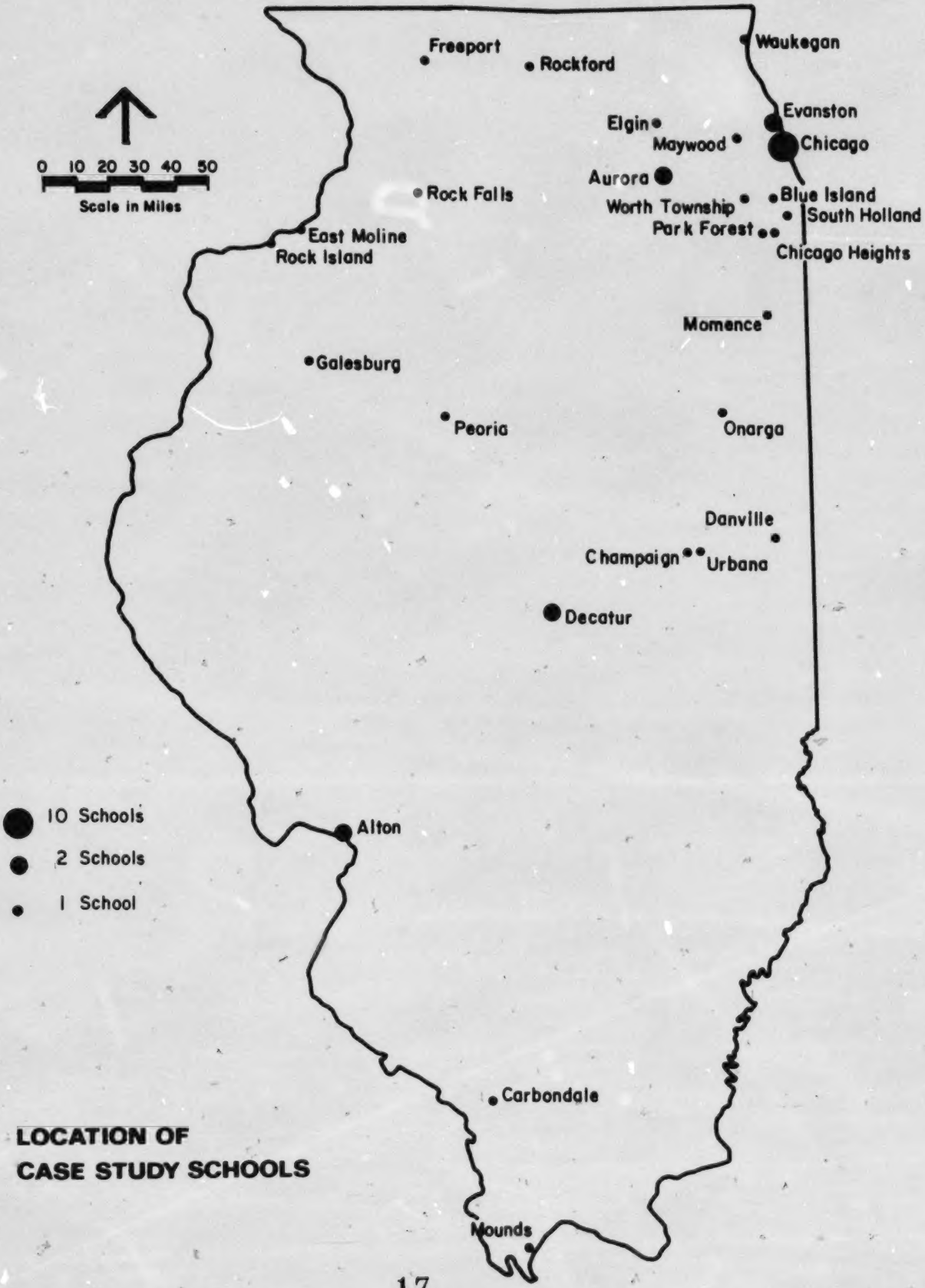
- Nevertheless, most schools where minority-group students had reached 10% of total enrollment or more (but less than 90%) did experience at least some increase in percentage of minority-group students during the study period. This occurred in 85.7% of the 743 schools analyzed. The average change for all 743 schools (including those with decreases) was a rise of 8.3 percentage points. (In contrast, the minority-group percentage in the state's total public-school enrollment rose only 1.7 percentage points in the same period.) True, in 52.6% of these 743 schools, the increase amounted to less than 3.3 percentage points per year. Nevertheless, the percentage of minority-group students in most Illinois public schools appears to rise steadily once it has reached 10% (what happens below that level was not examined in this study).

3. There were 140 public schools in Illinois that contained from 50% to 90% minority-group students as of 1971-1972. They thus qualified as racially-mixed but had majority-minority enrollments. Of these, 25 experienced declines in their percentage of minority-group students, and 64 experienced increases of less than 10 percentage points. Hence, about 64% of all racially-mixed but majority-minority schools experienced very stable racial mixtures during the four-year study period. Another 34 experienced increases of 10 to 20 percentage points in their fraction of minority-group students. So only 17 of these schools -- 12.1% -- experienced the kind of rapid increases in minority-group enrollments that would be consistent with the "tipping point theory."

The above data show that, in most cases, even whites attending racially-mixed majority-minority schools do not withdraw at rapid rates. Thus, a school's attainment of majority-minority status does not necessarily, or even usually, mean it will rapidly move to an overwhelmingly minority-group enrollment -- at least not within three years.

E. Selection of a Sample of Stable Racially-Mixed Schools for Detailed Study

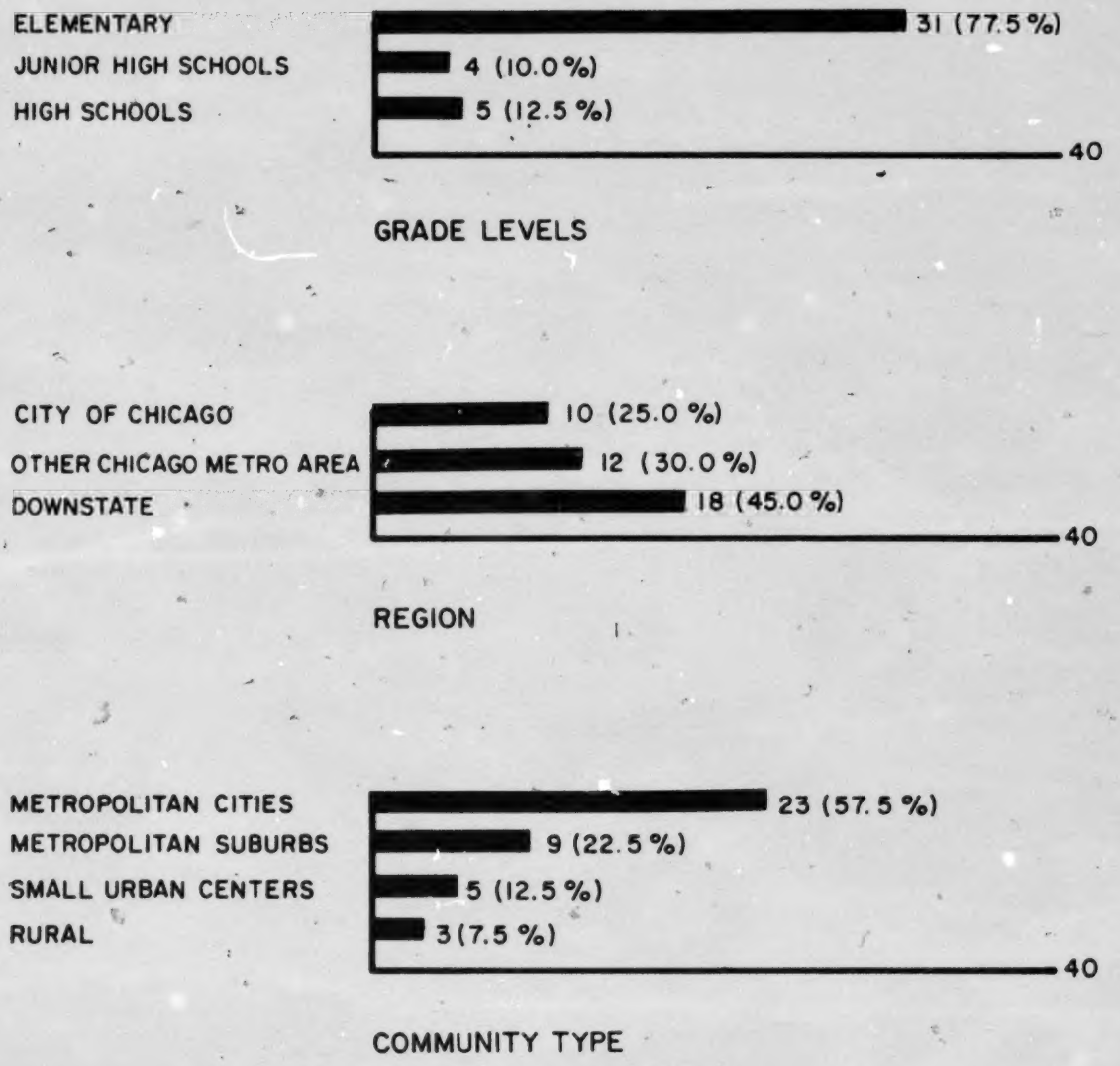
In order to investigate factors associated with stable racial mixture in the 430 schools described earlier, we selected a sample of 40 for more detailed analysis. This sample was structured to closely reflect the traits of all 430 schools. An accompanying map shows the districts where these 40 sample schools were located. The City of Chicago contained 10; the cities of Alton, Decatur, Evanston, and Aurora contained two each; all other cities or districts shown contained only one. Another accompanying chart presents other characteristics of these sample schools, and an accompanying table sets forth detailed enrollment data concerning all 40.



LOCATION OF CASE STUDY SCHOOLS

Figure 2

GRADE LEVELS AND GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION
40 SAMPLE SCHOOLS



ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN SAMPLE SCHOOLS

District / School	Grades Covered in Sample School	Percent Minority in District 1971-1972	Percent Minority in District 1974-1975	Change in Percent Minority 1971-1975	Percent Minority in School 1971-1972	Percent Minority in School 1974-1975	Change in Percent Minority 1971-1975	Percent Black in School 1971-1972	Percent Black in School 1974-1975	Change in Percent Black 1971-1975	Total Enrollment Trends
Alton 1	K-6	19.3%	21.0%	+ 1.7%	40.1%	40.5%	+ 0.4%	40.1%	40.5%	+ 0.4%	Stable
Alton 2	7-9	19.3%	21.0%	+ 1.7%	24.3%	23.5%	- 0.8%	23.8%	22.5%	- 1.3%	Declining
Aurora East	K-6	26.5%	34.5%	+ 8.0%	56.3%	67.6%	+11.3%	17.7%	16.2%	- 1.5%	Declining
Aurora West	K-5	10.6%	14.8%	+ 4.2%	29.3%	32.7%	+ 3.4%	2.5%	2.4%	- 0.1%	Rapidly declining
Blue Island	1-6	26.1%	32.2%	+ 6.1%	12.3%	16.9%	+ 4.6%	1.0%	0.3%	- 0.7%	Stable
Carbondale	K-3	27.4%	32.7%	+ 5.3%	39.9%	43.7%	+ 3.8%	39.3%	43.7%	+ 4.4%	Declining
Champaign	K-6	15.8%	19.5%	+ 3.7%	15.3%	10.6%	- 4.7%	12.7%	8.9%	- 3.8%	Declining
Chicago Heights	K-6	48.4%	52.8%	+ 4.4%	38.9%	35.9%	- 3.0%	4.2%	4.1%	- 0.1%	Declining
Danville	K-6	19.1%	21.8%	+ 2.7%	21.5%	28.3%	+ 6.8%	21.0%	28.3%	+ 7.3%	Stable
Decatur 1	K-6	18.2%	21.5%	+ 3.3%	11.3%	21.3%	+10.0%	11.3%	21.3%	+10.0%	Declining
Decatur 2	K-6	18.2%	21.5%	+ 3.3%	33.2%	29.2%	- 4.0%	33.2%	29.2%	- 4.0%	Declining
East Moline	K-6	14.0%	15.9%	+ 1.9%	73.0%	68.6%	- 4.4%	52.3%	49.5%	- 2.8%	Stable
Elgin	K-6	8.8%	11.1%	+ 2.3%	41.8%	31.3%	-10.5%	24.5%	20.0%	- 4.5%	Increasing
Evanston 1	6-8	29.0%	33.1%	+ 4.1%	25.3%	39.4%	+14.1%	21.7%	35.4%	+13.7%	Declining
Evanston 2	K-5	29.0%	33.1%	+ 4.1%	17.8%	24.2%	+ 6.4%	14.8%	20.9%	+ 6.1%	Declining
Freeport	8-9	11.8%	13.1%	+ 1.3%	13.2%	11.4%	- 1.8%	13.2%	11.3%	- 1.9%	Increasing
Galesburg	K-3	8.3%	9.3%	+ 1.0%	13.7%	11.0%	- 2.7%	11.0%	8.8%	- 1.2%	Declining
Maywood	K-8	56.5%	68.5%	+12.0%	63.8%	72.6%	+ 8.8%	37.5%	32.2%	- 5.3%	Stable
Momence	K-2	22.9%	23.2%	+ 0.3%	22.6%	25.3%	+ 2.7%	20.3%	21.3%	+ 1.0%	Declining
Mounds Meridian	4-6	53.0%	55.9%	+ 2.9%	62.7%	54.7%	- 8.0%	62.7%	54.7%	- 6.0%	Increasing
Onarga	K-6	11.5%	15.2%	+ 3.7%	16.4%	20.2%	+ 3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	+ 0.0%	Stable
Park Forest	K, 4-6	22.5%	30.4%	+ 7.9%	12.8%	26.4%	+13.6%	10.2%	23.2%	+13.0%	Declining
Peoria	9-12	21.3%	25.2%	+ 3.9%	29.0%	29.7%	+ 0.7%	28.9%	29.4%	+ 0.5%	Stable
Rock Falls	K-6	11.7%	12.3%	+ 0.6%	21.4%	22.2%	+ 0.8%	1.0%	1.3%	+ 0.3%	Declining
Rock Island	K-6	16.5%	21.6%	+ 5.1%	13.6%	20.4%	+ 6.8%	13.4%	20.0%	+ 6.6%	Declining
Rockford	K-5	14.1%	17.7%	+ 3.6%	70.0%	67.5%	- 2.5%	64.0%	64.3%	+ 0.3%	Declining
South Holland	K-6	42.0%	43.2%	+ 1.2%	43.7%	41.5%	- 2.2%	42.1%	39.2%	- 2.9%	Stable
Urbana	7-9	16.2%	18.2%	+ 2.0%	14.7%	20.2%	+ 5.5%	13.3%	19.8%	+ 6.5%	Declining
Waukegan	K-6	28.1%	33.2%	+ 5.1%	35.2%	37.9%	+ 2.7%	29.8%	32.7%	+ 2.9%	Declining
Worth Township	9-10	17.8%	19.2%	+ 1.4%	11.3%	15.2%	+ 3.9%	11.3%	13.1%	+ 1.8%	Increasing
Chicago 1	K-8 [1]	67.1%	71.5%	+ 4.4%	46.1%	54.4%	+ 8.3%	21.3%	30.5%	+ 9.2%	Rapidly increasing [2]
2	K-8				20.2%	19.2%	- 1.0%	5.1%	2.2%	- 2.9%	Declining
3	K-6				22.3%	33.0%	+10.7%	0.0%	0.1%	+ 0.1%	Stable
4	9-12				18.1%	28.1%	+10.0%	2.2%	0.2%	- 2.0%	Stable
5	K-8				72.3%	73.9%	+ 1.6%	70.2%	73.4%	+ 3.2%	Stable
6	K-8				45.0%	44.6%	- 0.4%	2.0%	4.7%	+ 2.7%	Rapidly declining
7	K-8				11.3%	13.3%	+ 2.0%	10.6%	12.4%	+ 1.8%	Stable
8	9-12				40.1%	48.0%	+ 7.9%	12.0%	12.3%	+ 0.3%	Declining
9	K-8				16.0%	21.9%	+ 5.9%	4.9%	7.1%	+ 2.2%	Declining
10	9-12				69.6%	78.1%	+ 8.5%	28.6%	24.3%	- 4.3%	Increasing

Notes: [1] Ungraded - serves ages 3 through 13.

[2] Because of new building opened during this period - moved out of small, temporary quarters.

Source: Real Estate Research Corporation.

We interviewed key school officials and parents connected with each of these 40 schools to determine how racially-mixed enrollments arose there, what factors have contributed to the stability of those enrollments, and any problems or issues that have arisen because of racial mixture. We typically interviewed the district superintendent, the principal, two school board members (one white and one minority-group member), two parents (also one white and one minority-group), a local realtor, and the president of the student body (in high schools and junior high schools only). We also analyzed Census Bureau data concerning population in the school's district and the neighborhoods it serves. These sources of information were the bases for many of the findings and conclusions set forth in the remainder of this summary. Although these findings and conclusions are positively valid only for these 40 sample schools, we believe they also apply to nearly all 430 schools with stable racially-mixed enrollments identified above.

F. Findings and Conclusions Concerning the Nature of Stable Racial Mixture in the 40 Sample Schools and Factors Associated with Such Mixture

Our detailed analysis of the 40 sample schools revealed the following significant findings and conclusions:

1. In most cases, stable racially-mixed enrollments arose in the first place because of purely accidental factors, rather than through any deliberate actions or policies. We divided the 40 schools in our sample into three groups concerning the initial causes of their racially-mixed enrollments, as follows:

Initial Cause of Racially-Mixed Enrollment	Number of Schools in Sample	Percentage of Whole Sample
Accidental factors (mainly location serving a racially-mixed neighborhood)	24	60.0%
Desegregation achieved through deliberate actions or policies by school officials or courts	10	25.0%
A combination of both accidental factors and deliberate desegregation (mainly where some racial mixture existed before official desegregation action, but that action raised the percentage of minority-group students)	6	15.0%

This result indicates that deliberate desegregation policies in Illinois may not be as important in causing constructive inter-racial experiences in public schools as preserving situations where such experiences have arisen by accident. However, the validity of that conclusion cannot be established without examining how much additional constructive inter-racial experience might be generated by more extensive desegregation policies. Such an examination was beyond the scope of this analysis.

2. In nearly all cases, whatever their origin, stable racially-mixed enrollments do not appear to have generated any serious educational problems that adversely affect the quality of education provided in schools with such enrollments. In only two of the 40 schools we studied did there seem to be significant adverse impacts of racially-mixed enrollments. One involved a court-ordered desegregation plan adopted over the opposition of the local school board, without its participation in formulating the plan. The other involved the isolated busing of some black students from overcrowded schools into a formerly all-white school -- but not as part of any district-wide desegregation plan. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that racially-mixed enrollments can be achieved and maintained without serious adverse educational effects in a wide variety of community and neighborhood environments.

   This conclusion requires two qualifications. First, we did not examine in-depth measures of the quality of education in the sample schools (such as achievement test scores or large surveys of parent reactions). Second, our method of selecting schools to be studied excluded those where racially-mixed enrollments were accompanied by rapid declines in white students. If attainment of a racially-mixed enrollment did generate adverse impacts under such conditions, it would probably have been in precisely these cases excluded from our sample.

3. Stable racially-mixed enrollments resulting from deliberate desegregation typically occur in neighborhoods different from those in which such enrollments have resulted from purely accidental factors. Consequently, without deliberate policies aimed at desegregation, stable racially-mixed enrollments are not likely to arise in schools serving certain types of neighborhoods, as indicated below:

Neighborhoods Where Stable Racially-Mixed Enrollments Are Not Likely to Occur Mainly by Accident	AS COMPARED TO	Neighborhoods Where Stable Racially-Mixed Enrollments Are More Likely to Occur Mainly by Accident
All white neighborhoods	→	Some racially-mixed neighborhoods (see next item below)
Mixed black and white neighborhoods	→	Mixed Latino and white neighborhoods
Middle- or upper-income neighborhoods	→	Low- or moderate-income neighborhoods
Neighborhoods not isolated from other nearby neighborhoods by physical barriers (such as railroad embankments)	→	Neighborhoods isolated from other nearby neighborhoods by physical barriers

Therefore, school districts seeking to provide positive and stable interracial educational experiences for students living in the types of neighborhoods shown in the left-hand column above will probably have to carry out deliberate desegregation policies in order to achieve that result.

4. Stable racially-mixed enrollments are more likely to involve mixtures of pupils from different socio-economic levels when they have arisen through deliberate public action than through accidental causes. This is true because both the white and minority-group households living in neighborhoods where stable racially-mixed enrollments arise by accident usually have low or moderate incomes. Therefore, mixing of pupils from different socio-economic levels usually requires mixing residents of two or more non-adjacent neighborhoods. This is far more likely to occur under deliberate desegregation arrangements than by accident in a "normal" neighborhood school system. Some educational authorities believe mixing students from different socio-economic levels (under positive conditions) is a more effective method of improving the educational attainments of low-achieving minority-group students than simply mixing students from different racial groups.

Insofar as a school system seeks to produce this outcome, it would probably do so most effectively by adopting deliberate desegregation policies.

5. About two-thirds of the sample schools in which stable racially-mixed enrollments resulted either entirely or partly from deliberate action were located where district-wide desegregation plans had been carried out. Such plans had been adopted in 13 of the 28 districts where sample schools were located. These 13 districts contained 16 of the 40 schools in our sample, but 5 of those 16 schools had nevertheless attained stable racially-mixed enrollments mainly through accidental factors. From these facts and others revealed by our study, we conclude that the most effective way to achieve stable racially-mixed enrollments through deliberate action is by carrying out a district-wide desegregation plan that seeks to "racially balance" enrollments throughout the entire district in some meaningful way. This approach is also more likely to be acceptable to parents and school officials than focussing upon just one or a few schools within the district for such action. However, very few district-wide desegregation plans achieved even approximately equal fractions of minority-group students at all the schools in the district. This objective would be especially difficult to attain, and perhaps even undesirable, in extremely large districts, where seeking it would require massive movements of students over long distances.

   One factor influencing a district's ability to deliberately achieve stable racially-mixed enrollments seems to be whether there are all-white schools nearby but outside the control of the district's board. These can either be private schools or public schools in nearby districts with very low minority-group enrollments. Of the 28 districts covered in our sample, only four had district-wide increases in the percentage of minority-group students of more than 6.0 percentage points from 1971-1972 to 1974-1975 (or an average of more than 2.0 percentage points per year). All four were Chicago suburbs with relatively high percentages of minority-group students (over 30%) as compared to those found in many neighboring communities. In our opinion, it may be extremely difficult for a district to achieve stable racially-mixed enrollments in the long run through deliberate public policies if it (a) covers only part of a large metropolitan area, (b) has a relatively high percentage of minority-group students in its overall enrollment, and (c) is close to other districts with much lower percentages of minority-group students in their overall enrollments. Doing so is not always impossible; since one district studied in our sample (Evanston) has achieved that result. Nevertheless, that achievement is far more

difficult under those circumstances than for districts that are relatively isolated from other communities offering segregated educational alternatives.

7. Six major techniques were used either singly or in combination to create stable racially-mixed enrollments through deliberate public action. These techniques are as follows:

- Closing one or more all-black schools and distributing their students elsewhere.
- Closing one or more all-white schools and distributing their students elsewhere.
- Creating magnet schools from formerly all-minority-group schools and distributing their former students elsewhere.
- Re-organizing the grade structure in existing schools and thereby redistributing students to achieve better racial balance. This usually involved going from K-8 schools to K-3, 4-6, 7-8, or 9.
- Reassignment of students to different schools, either through boundary changes or computerized reassignment programs that involved some deliberate "cross-hauling" of students.
- Constructing new schools located so as to serve racially-mixed attendance areas, including new magnet schools drawing students from very large areas.

Many of these techniques required busing students to school who formerly walked. Hence busing itself can be considered a desegregation technique. However, nearly all the districts that used busing in this manner were already transporting many students by bus before adopting deliberate desegregation policies. Hence desegregation objectives simply became one of the many goals served by their busing plans. In fact, those objectives were often achieved without greatly increasing the number of pupils that would have used buses in getting to school anyway, or increasing the average distance they would have travelled.

8. In the future, declining enrollments and increasing "fiscal squeezes" on local school resources may make it difficult to use some of the above techniques (or others) to achieve or maintain stable racially-mixed enrollments. Over half of the 40 schools in our sample (22, or 55.0%) experienced declining enrollments during the study period, and 12 others (30.0%) had stable enrollments. Only 6 (15.0%) had increasing enrollments. It is hard to justify or pay for the construction of new school buildings when declining enrollments are creating vacancies in existing schools. It is also hard to hire more minority-group teachers when tenure and union seniority rules forbid replacing existing ones. Moreover, where attaining additional desegregation requires transporting more students than in the past, districts may be discouraged from seeking that goal by added busing costs. Creation of magnet schools, use of computerized reassignment programs, and adoption of special curriculum changes to aid in desegregation all cost more money than "normal" school activities. Although federal aids now exist to help pay some such costs, their future status is uncertain. The Illinois Office of Education might consider proposing changes in the state school aid formula to offer incentives for districts to achieve and maintain stable racially-mixed enrollments through such techniques. However, we have not attempted to analyze the possible nature or costs of such incentives in this study.

9. In almost none of the 40 sample schools were major instructional, training, or other internal programs being carried out specifically to maintain stable racially-mixed enrollments, or in response to such enrollments. Only 2 of these 40 schools had instituted major curriculum changes specifically to attract or retain pupils from diverse racial groups. Many had adopted in-service faculty training programs partly related to desegregation, but none of these programs were considered critical to maintaining racially-mixed enrollments. Even bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking students -- found in 9 sample schools -- did not appear to have any stabilizing effect in racially-mixed schools. We were unable to investigate in depth whether true equality of educational opportunity regardless of race existed in the sample schools. However, very few of the persons interviewed said it did not exist. Yet it was clear that, insofar as such true integration prevailed within these schools, it had arisen almost entirely by accident rather than because of deliberate internal programs designed to achieve or maintain it. If the Office of Education wishes to encourage either stable racially-mixed enrollments or true integration within schools exhibiting such enrollments, it should investigate what specific internal programs -- if any -- such schools could adopt to help produce those results. Perhaps no special programs are needed for that purpose. Yet we believe that

conclusion should be further researched before the Office of Education accepts it as valid.

10. Bilingual instruction for Spanish-speaking students tends to concentrate such students in those particular schools where that type of instruction is provided. It is more efficient and economical to give such instruction in just one or a few schools within a district rather than all of them. Therefore, the goal of efficiently providing bilingual instruction may conflict with the goal of spreading Latino students among many schools to avoid ethnic segregation. We found conflicts between these goals in about half of the 9 districts that offered bilingual instructions.

11. Positive and strongly-committed leadership in desegregation by the superintendent and the district school board, plus significant participation in desegregation planning by members of the local community, are crucial elements that help insure the success of deliberate public efforts to achieve stable racially-mixed enrollments. These elements were mentioned repeatedly in many different districts as vital to achieving desegregation without undue disruption of either the schools or the community. Also, the only two schools in our sample where racially-mixed enrollments seemed to be generating hostility or tension both involved imposition of a desegregation plan upon the school by either a court or the district school board. In neither case was there any participation in forming the plan by local school officials or parents.

    We believe this conclusion reinforces the wisdom of two aspects of the Illinois Office of Education's current policies concerning desegregation:

    - The Office of Education is demonstrating positive leadership and commitment by pressuring local boards to achieve further desegregation where that appears necessary.

    - However, the State's policies give each local school board, superintendent, and community considerable latitude in developing and carrying out their own plans concerning how to achieve further desegregation.

12. Initiation of desegregation plans in a community can be made much easier and more harmonious if the local school board plans and carries out a careful public relations campaign both before and during the implementation of the desegregation plan. Such a campaign should

emphasize the positive aspects of the desegregation plan and of the quality of education in local schools. It should also contain mechanisms for dealing with rumors as fast as they arise by providing accurate, factual accounts of the events concerned.

G. Suggestions for Possible Further Research

In the course of performing this study, we developed the following suggestions for possible additional research related to desegregation that the Illinois Office of Education might wish to sponsor:

- Further analysis of data concerning the racial composition of Illinois schools. This could include use of data from the 1975-1976 school year, and an examination of other categories of schools besides those with stable racially-mixed enrollments. This research would use data already collected by the State staff, without any field studies of individual schools.

- Classification of the remaining 390 stable racially-mixed schools concerning whether they attained that status accidentally or through deliberate policy, and what factors have helped them either achieve or maintain it. This could be done through mailing a survey form to the superintendents and principals concerned, rather than through additional (and more costly) field interviews.

- Surveys testing the attitudes toward desegregation and its results held by a large number of parents and faculty members at schools with stable racially-mixed enrollments.

- Case studies of schools with non-stable racially-mixed enrollments designed to discover what factors have caused their enrollments to change rapidly, and what actions (if any) might have counteracted those factors. This would be similar to the present study.

- In-depth analysis of conditions within a sample of schools with stable racially-mixed enrollments to discover to what extent full equality of educational opportunities regardless of race has been achieved there, and what impacts racially-mixed enrollments have had upon student achievement scores and other indicators of educational quality.

- More complete analysis of the "tipping point theory" using data over a longer time period, separate breakdowns for black and other minority-group students, multiple regression analysis, and a separation of experience within the City of Chicago from that elsewhere.

- Preparation of a handbook of specific desegregation tactics and the conditions under which they might be employed, for use by Illinois school districts pursuing further desegregation or seeking compliance with Office of Education desegregation guidelines.

- Analysis of possible fiscal incentives for adopting desegregation tactics, including possible adjustments or additions to the state school aid formula.